Vol. XVII, No. 47 — Section IV

HUMAN EVENTS

November 24, 1960

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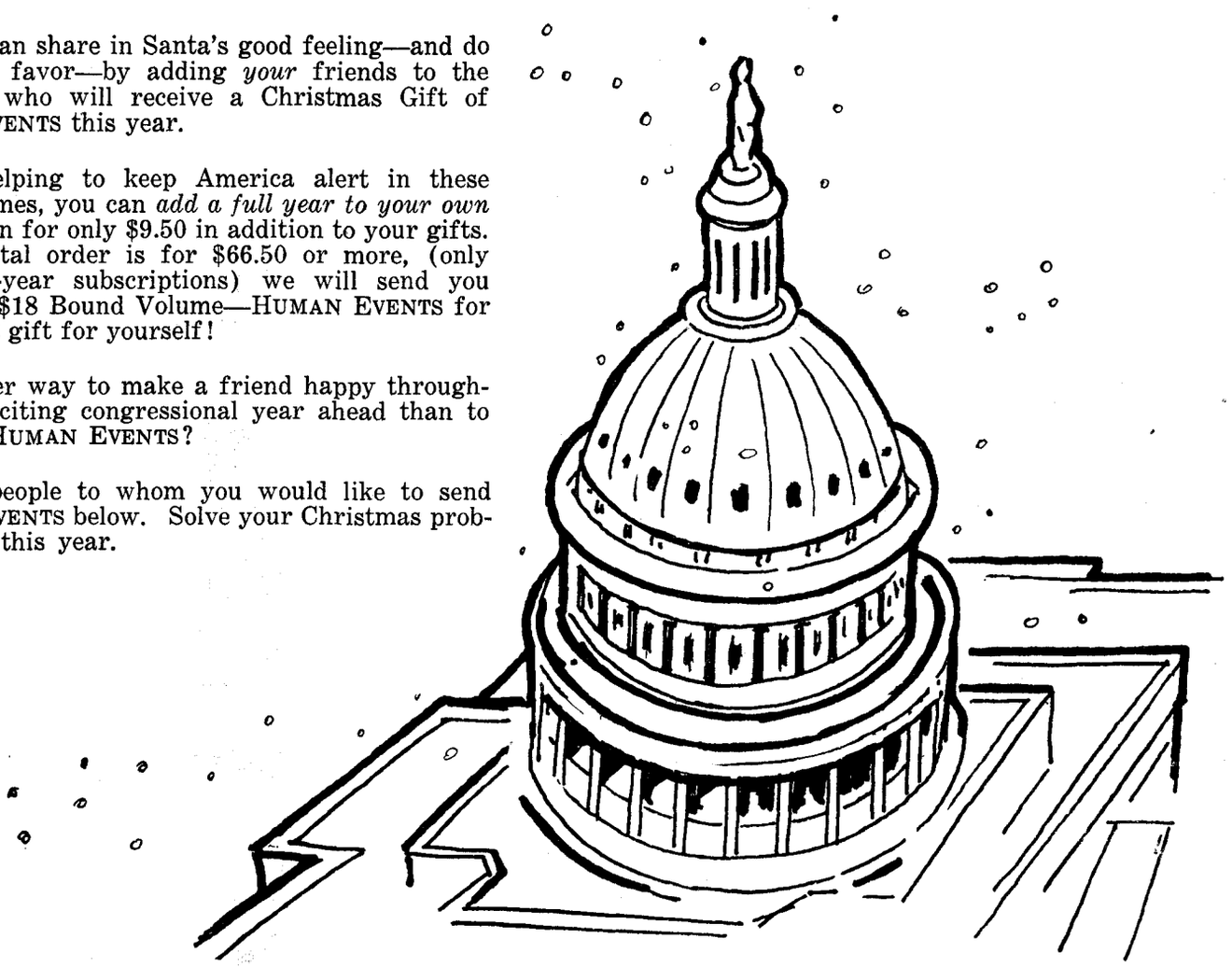

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY

"The dominant philosophy of an age is the philosophy that is on the way out."

—DISRAELI

Vol. XVII, No. 47 — Section II

November 24, 1960

THE LIBRARY
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How the Labor Bosses Delivered for Kennedy

By VICTOR RIESEL

Jack Kennedy had the most hard-hitting, the most far-reaching, skillfully directed, scientifically created labor political campaign machinery behind him. That is the story, it seems to me, of this campaign. Jack Kennedy would not have won if labor had not delivered the marginal balance of power—small but strategically placed—in the key industrial states.

The 20th Century tornado would have been a quiet northeasterly wind in those early morning hours if labor had not put everything it has—including its postage stamps—into the drive. He would not, for example, have taken New York State. There, labor was neutral before the nomination.

On the morning of June 17, however, America's Mr. Labor Lawyer, Arthur Goldberg, brought Jack Kennedy together at breakfast with New York's union leaders. Some were diffident. Some were distrusting of the man who had been active in creating the new labor law.

They met in the Victoria Suite of Manhattan's Hotel Carlyle, later to become Kennedy's personal hideaway headquarters. The union men questioned him for awhile. Then John F. Kennedy talked for a half hour—directly and frankly. He won them over.

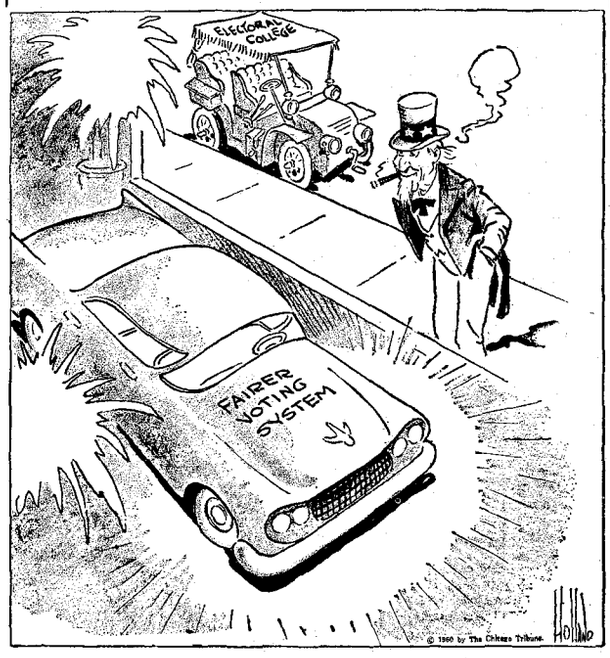
He won them over not for himself alone, but, later at Los Angeles, Arthur Goldberg and the New Yorkers prevented the rest of the labor contingent from exploding when Lyndon Johnson was nominated.

Then there was that moment during the campaign itself when Lyndon Johnson entered a suspicious New York. He was worried. Dave Dubinsky, who really dynamoed the New York campaign for the Democrats, learned that there was a time hole in Johnson's schedule big enough to drive a fleet of loud speakers through for several hours.

Dubinsky swiftly organized a hotel meeting of Liberal Party labor committeemen. They cheered Johnson and picked up the slack and the bills. Then came the strategically timed garment district mass demonstration.

That was the breakthrough. The atmosphere was set for the million more liberal-labor-independent-Adlai Stevenson voters.

ISN'T IT ABOUT TIME WE TRADED FOR A NEW MODEL?



There were similar breakthroughs in New Jersey, where the Reuther machine delivered the balance of power vote in the northern counties. Thus it was in Michigan where the Auto Union apparatus saved the state by saving the Detroit area for their candidate. And in Southern Texas where the unions, woven into the Democratic Party, piled up votes to balance off the Dallas area.

Thus, too, in the big cities and the steel districts, the aircraft and missile production centers, the mine patches and the garment "jungles." That is why, in virtually every industrial state, Democratic leaders telephoned labor leaders between 11 p.m. and four a.m. to convey their thanks.

Soon the phone calls will be going the other way. I give it to you as fact that what labor officials now want is a legislation blitz in the "first hundred days." These calls will be made to Congressional leaders. Congress will be urged to deliver on the Los Angeles platform, just as labor delivered. Jack Kennedy will hear from labor, too. After all, it elected him.

Post Election Odds

By Congressman Clarence J. Brown

There were all sorts of betting odds on the election. The latest came after the election, when one Capitol Hill wag offered to bet one hundred to one that Vice President Nixon now wishes he had never agreed to debate Senator Kennedy on television.

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Campaign Journalists Sabotaged Nixon

From the New York Daily News

This editorial does not apply to anybody working for the *News*, the Chicago *Tribune*, Chicago's *American*, or any other US newspaper that confines its editorials to its editorial page and keeps opinions out of items presented to its readers as news.

The newspapers and newspapermen discussed herein know what and who they are, so that there is no use in our listing them by name much as we would enjoy doing so.

Subject of this editorial is the treatment Vice President Richard M. Nixon got from the newspapers and newspapermen mentioned in the preceding paragraph, from beginning to end of his recent campaign for the Presidency.

On average, 75% or more of the reporters who trailed him on his innumerable speaking trips were Democrats. There was nothing wrong with that since a newspaperman is as free as any other American to choose his politics.

There was a great deal wrong, though, in the way many of these reporters handled this assignment.

Briefly, they sabotaged Mr. Nixon and his cause with every dirty-pool device known to dirty-pool newspaper people—of whom, unhappily, there are still too many.

They slanted their dispatches against the Republican candidate. They left out incidents and sidelights which might have been helpful to him. They frequently under-reported the size and enthusiasm of the crowds that gathered to hear him speak.

In campaign press conferences with Nixon himself, some of these crooked crusaders for Senator John F. Kennedy insulted and badgered Nixon instead of asking him honest and pertinent questions.

Things got so bad in this respect that Nixon called off the conferences several weeks before the election.

When the alleged news dispatches reached the editors of the papers under discussion, they shirked their duty oftener than not.

That is to say they left the slanted, distorted, biased or downright false statements in the material and passed it on to their readers as allegedly honest and factual news.

The result was that readers of these newspapers got a twisted picture of what was going on in the campaign.

Thus, reporters who were supposed to be objective turned into masked columnists, editorial writers and propagandists; and editors who were supposed to keep the news columns factual and unbiased allowed a lot of such columns to be turned into propaganda.

The whole disgraceful performance was bad journalism, bad ethics, and a breaking of faith with the readers of the newspapers we are talking about.

It was more than that, even. It was extremely bad newspaper work from the strictly business point of view.

The public eventually gets hep to crooked politicians, crooked businessmen, shyster lawyers, and so on and so forth.

Newspapers and newspapermen that have gone in for shading, slanting and "interpreting" the news in recent years may flourish for some time to come.

But their readers will eventually get hep to them if they keep it up long enough.

When the readers do get these fakers' and distortionists' number, the readers can be counted on to quit reading the slanted newspapers in droves.

Also, they can reasonably be expected to start wondering about the honesty or otherwise of the advertising these papers carry, considering that the publications' editors and publishers have been found to be dishonest.

In short, a newspaper has got to be a newspaper if it is to hope to go on publishing indefinitely. When it stops being a newspaper and turns into a propaganda sheet for Democrats, Republicans or anybody or anything else, its proprietors had better consult their attorneys as to the proper way to act in a court of bankruptcy.

Make a Profit

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What the Farmers Think of Kennedy

From the Chicago Tribune

If there is any clear mandate for Mr. Kennedy in the election returns, it is a negative one and it came from the farm belt. By decisively defeating him, the farmers showed what they think of his farm program, which calls for extreme regimentation and promises a fuzzy something called "parity of income."

The only states in the midwest which Mr. Kennedy carried were the four with large industrial areas which are traditionally Democratic and where a special effort was made, in this election, to get out the labor vote.

If religion played a part in the farm vote, it was not a decisive one. Other Democrats considered much more likely to win than Mr. Kennedy were defeated. Notable among these was Governor Loveless of Iowa, Mr. Kennedy's farm adviser, who lost his race for the Senate to a Republican, Jack Miller. Two other Kennedy stalwarts, Governors Docking of Kansas and Freeman of Minnesota, ran for reelection and likewise lost to Republicans. Republicans captured the governorships in Iowa and South Dakota, one congressional seat in Iowa, and two in Kansas.

The few Democrats who did get elected in predominantly farm states—such as the candidates for governor in Indiana and Nebraska—were perhaps significantly, unassociated with the Kennedy program. At any rate Mr. Kennedy's defeat in these states proves that whatever issues were involved, the farm program was not one of them.

Fortunately for the farmers [who would be shackled by the Democratic program], and for the consumers [whose food bills would go up because of it], and for the taxpayers [who would pay for it all], there is reason to hope that the program is not as close to Mr. Kennedy's heart as he made out during the campaign. It was handed to him, word for word, by the left wing National Farmers union. It was accepted because the Democrats were campaigning on an anti-Benson platform and it seemed to be about as anti-Benson as possible.

Until the campaign, Mr. Kennedy had said little about the farm problem. Indeed, until 1956, he supported the policies of Secretary Benson, who has tried to relax controls in the hope that they may eventually be abolished.

Because Mr. Nixon himself disowned Mr. Benson, the farmers had no chance to vote directly for or against the Benson policies. But their decisive rejection of the anti-Benson program leads to the hope that they are not ready for a nursemaid yet and this should offer a measure of satisfaction to Mr. Benson. The question now is whether Mr. Kennedy will respect the farmers' wishes.

Attention College Journalists!

The first Kennedy session of Congress will be as dramatic—despite the different circumstances—as was Franklin D. Roosevelt's One Hundred Days.

HUMAN EVENTS would like to receive applications from college students with a talent for journalism to serve an apprenticeship here during that period.

Write:

L. Hollins
HUMAN EVENTS
410 First Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Welfarism Destroys Initiative

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

If ever there were a fine example of how the welfare state destroys initiative, humbles pride, and even distorts honest reasoning, that example is to be found in the case of Jack Cooper, British coal mine mechanic, who hasn't done a lick of work for 3½ years—and who likes it this way.

As a man with no job, Jack gets the equivalent of $30.80 weekly from the British welfare state. When he had a job, back in May 1957, he made the equivalent of $26.40. Quickly he decided that if he could make more money by not working than he could by working, it would be pretty silly to work.

"The National Assistance board keeps badgering me to go to work," he said, "but why should I when it means that my family [wife and seven children] would suffer? I have a duty to them and I am quite happy as I am."

We might never have known of Jack Cooper and his valiant effort to discharge his duty as a father but for the fact that he was hauled into the Chesterfield county magistrate's court, charged with stealing coal from a railroad line. He paid his five pound [$14] fine with some British welfare state money, and went back to his job—doing nothing.

The British taxpayers who provided the money in the first place might well be expected to take a somewhat jaundiced view of Jack—and his peculiar devotion to "duty." So might any other taxpayers, throughout the world, when threatened by a welfare state.

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The Political School of Hard Knocks

From the Wall Street Journal

It is by no means certain that the Republicans could have won this election by doing things differently. It's possible that even if they had used these past eight years to build a party organization, even if they had taken a more forthright stand against the liberalism of the Democrats, the result would have been the same.

Nonetheless, on four different occasions in the past 20 years the Republican Party has tried to win by doing little more than putting on a last-minute drive offering little more than a somewhat paler version of the Democratic program.

And four times, by this strategy, the Republicans have lost.

Only twice in 28 years have they won the White House. These were, of course, the Eisenhower victories, often attributed exclusively to his personal appeal. Yet in 1952 General Eisenhower made a strong assault on the spending and inflationary policies of the Truman Administration, and in 1956 he went before the country on a record of ending the Korean War, wiping out wage and price controls, cutting billions off the Truman budget and giving the people billions in tax cuts.

So at the least, Mr. Eisenhower was not handicapped by a frank and clearly stated conservatism.

Now we would think that this would be enough to give the Republican Party pause—and some of its leaders food for thought.

This year Mr. Nixon did not make one mistake of Mr. Dewey. He did not try to coast to victory, he put on one of the most active campaigns on record, with a dogged determination that was impressive. But he did adopt the fundamental Dewey strategy, largely under the influence of the same men who advised Mr. Dewey. In short, he tried to avoid a head-on challenge of the liberal philosophy.

Thus, he could not, or would not, challenge the idea that medical care, housing, school classrooms or a city's slums are responsibilities of the Federal Government. He conceded that those are proper functions for the Federal Government, only promising to do things better. He could not make a full assault on the huge inflationary spending of the Government or the heavy taxes it levies upon the people; he could noly promise a little less new spending, perhaps fewer new tax burdens.

And because he left unchallenged this idea that the Federal Government is responsible for just about everything, he could not for the life of him avoid apologizing for the low rate of steel production or the allegedly low estate of US "prestige" in the Congo or in the Indies.

But this is a strategy at which the Democrats could always best the Republicans. As the Republicans moved toward "liberalism" the Democrats could, as they did at Los Angeles, move clear out in left field. The Republican hope was Mr. Kennedy's youth, inexperience and the fact that he was relatively unknown. When Mr. Kennedy licked that problem, the Democrats were right back in the game.

But it is most unfair to blame all this on Vice President Nixon alone. For this has been the posture of the party far too much of the time and it is unrealistic to suppose that Mr. Nixon could have altered it in the space of a few months' campaigning. He had to run with what he had, and it is to his credit that he almost made it anyway.

For what he had to run with, frankly, was a pretty tattered party organization, some very lackluster supporters and a party record which President Eisenhower had never taken much trouble to make clear and meaningful to the American people.

Most Americans, we think, believe Mr. Eisenhower gave them a rare interlude of good government, a prosperous and peaceful time. But not all of them, by any means, have understood that the peace and prosperity which they have enjoyed are the results of the Eisenhower policies the very opposite of those the Democrats offered in this campaign.

It is not very realistic to suppose that the Republican Party could go eight years, throwing away a magnificent opportunity to rebuild the party and to show the people the value of sound policies, and then expect Mr. Nixon to pick up all the pieces. Because he was the leader Mr. Nixon will bear the onus; but the blame is on many in his party, including Mr. Eisenhower.

So now what do you suppose the Republican Party will do? Already there are voices saying there is little for them to do now but sit around and wait until four years hence, and then they will get to work behind a new, "more liberal" candidate.

Well, you'd think that elementary political logic would suggest that this is not the best way to win the country. And that even those Republicans who learn only in the hard school would get something knocked into their heads from four bitter experiences.

Real Preparedness

We cannot afford to win an arms race and to lose the battle for men's minds. It is in this area that the Communists will make their major offensive. To defeat them we must be morally and spiritually strong — politically wise — financially and economically stable — sure of our cause . . . .

—Admiral Arleigh A. Burke
Chief of Naval Operations

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Vol. XVII, No. 47 — Section III HUMAN EVENTS November 24, 1960

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KENNEDY IS IN— THE FIGHT HAS JUST BEGUN

READ THE FIVE SUGGESTIONS BELOW

Kennedy got his VICTORY MARGIN of votes because and only because Catholic Conservatives (fast becoming a majority among Catholics), plus *a large number of anti-bigotry Protestants,* were determined in this year of 1960 to prove that 40 million Catholics are no longer fourth-class citizens.

Except for the religious factor, an analysis of the returns shows that Kennedy could not have won the election.

However, the ever-alert liberal-labor forces will now hasten to put a different explanation upon the outcome. They will claim that the election is a MANDATE for the immediate inauguration of THE KENNEDY REVOLUTION.

You and thousands like you are needed—yes, desperately needed—to help stop the Big Spend Government Program (which is what the Kennedy Revolution really is).

What can you do?

1. Buy Goldwater pins, buttons, bumper strips, and color post cards to identify yourself with all those who want to support Goldwater during the coming "Hundred Days," when the liberal-labor forces will attempt to steamroller the Democratic Platform through Congress. If you organize a Goldwater Club, see that its members are in general agreement with the Goldwater philosophy as explained in the Senator's book, "The Conscience of a Conservative" (obtainable from HUMAN EVENTS, hardcover, $3; paperback, 75c). Keep anti-Semites and White Supremacists out of the clubs.

2. Organize a Resistance Movement in your Community. Goals: Resist High Taxes. Resist Big Spending. Resist Inflation. Resist Socialism. Resist the "Hundred Days." It is in the American tradition for patriots to call together their friends when a crisis like the Kennedy Revolution confronts the American people.

3. Attend the HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference in Washington, January 6-7. Details elsewhere.

4. Buy bulk subscriptions to "What YOU Can Do," a new regular Department of HUMAN EVENTS which will begin the last week in December, and which will serve to suggest the most effective course of action.

5. Make HUMAN EVENTS the major item on your Christmas Gift List. Send a weekly package of inspiration and ammunition to as many as possible of those you know who will enlist in this fight.

HUMAN EVENTS will not be the "Headquarters" nor the official organ for either the Goldwater clubs nor the Resistance Movement. These movements do not need central headquarters nor generals. They need Captains and privates. The new weekly "What YOU Can Do" section of HUMAN EVENTS will suggest what to do. Action at the local level is needed, not sweeping pronouncements by Commanders-in-Chief. A few thousand local leaders each doing their bit, can perform the miracle necessary to stop the Kennedy Revolution.

NOW SEE THE OTHER SIDE OF THIS SHEET FOR A COMPLETE SELECTION OF CAMPAIGN ITEMS

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The Strain of Running for President

Will A Future Candidate Drop Dead?

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By RAYMOND MOLEY

In the course of the next four years responsible party leaders should reconsider the sort of campaigning which we have witnessed this year. The public's curiosity and the advent of new mechanical devices have created conditions which not only demand more from the candidates than any human being should bear, but frustrate any real examination of the issues by voters.

Television and the airplane have not helped the public to understand what is going on. Perhaps democracy will, as it has in many instances in world history, destroy itself.

No one who saw, on the ground or on the television screen, the exhausted candidates in their final two weeks needs to be told what the physical exactions were. We have heard a lot about the times demanding young men as candidates. The wisdom of that can be questioned, as even young men can be battered into the ground by too much campaigning. And considering the fact that many ailments in these days, especially coronary failure, become more prevalent among men in the forties and fifties, this sort of strain might well provide us, as it has in the past, with Presidents who are unable to bear the weight of office after election. And the burdens of the Presidency exceed those of any other job on earth, excepting perhaps that of the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.

The dizzying hopping from place to place by air by the candidates involves such hazards that only the grace of luck has spared one or the other, or even both, a fatal crash. To meet an engagement in Boston, Nixon flew into an airport which had been closed because of dense fog. On another occasion, the Nixon plane made an instrument landing at Casper, Wyoming, in a snowstorm which covered the ground to the depth of seven inches. The flight to Alaska in November weather was nothing less than a stunt.

And if one candidate had been killed in the course of these perils and exertions, the choice of the voters would have narrowed to one. For despite provision for a substitution, voters would have had little option except to vote for the one they knew best.

This sort of campaign provides less education than that conducted by William McKinley, who limited his campaigning to his own front porch. That was a campaign in which William Jennings Bryan traveled more miles and received relatively few more votes than preceding Democratic candidates who moved sparingly and talked very little.

Since the pace of the campaigning during the past six weeks called for several speeches by each candidate each day, no newspaper could reflect in any detail what they were saying. Toward the end, both candidates were incessantly repeating themselves. Speeches delivered in the midst of howling mobs in Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York were reduced to a few short sentences and gestures. Stevenson in 1956 and Nixon to a limited degree this year tried to fill in the gaps with papers on specific subjects. But in the turmoil, these were read by a relatively few. And so an uninformed electorate went to the polls and voted for two completely worn-out candidates. Considering what the candidates went through, they are lucky to be alive.

Reduced Federal Control Improves Cotton Outlook

From the Indianapolis Star

Cotton farmers in this country will be able to plant more than 18,000,000 acres in that crop next year under bigger acreage allotment announced by the Department of Agriculture. This means that cotton will be produced on two million more acres of land in a belt stretching across the nation from the Carolinas to California.

The average citizen might well ask how cotton production is being increased at a time when agricultural surpluses are a major national problem.

The answer is that cotton has expanded its present and future sales by going into the marketplace. At the urging of American Farm Bureau Federation leaders, Congress changed the law in 1958 to make cotton more competitive in the textile markets of the nation and the world. As a result, cotton consumption has increased this year, and the outlook is that even more of the fiber will be sold in 1961-62.

Charles B. Shuman, Farm Bureau president, explained the change this way: "The previous law attempted to hold prices at a legislatively determined level without regard to market conditions. Time has demonstrated this approach to be a dismal failure."

Cotton offers graphic proof that American farm products can move in the markets of the nation and the world at satisfactory prices if government restraint is reduced or removed.

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An Educator Sizes Up Public Schools

Dr. Forbes H. Norris, district principal for public schools in Briarcliff Manor, New York, recently published at the request of his school board some noteworthy observations on public education. A number of his views are quoted below:

• The school reflects the community and the society which it serves and from which its support comes.

• One's scale of values determines a person's goals and the purposes with which he goes to school. These values are derived from the home, school and community. The heroes or heroines you worship indicate pretty clearly your scale of values.

• There are still people who hinder educational progress and achievement because they have a superficial belief in the values of education. The school day is still the happy hunting ground of private requests, church needs, and charitable organizations, always under the guise that missed school time won't be missed or can be made up. If many people were as concerned with getting their dollar's worth from their children's schools, as from a department store, the effectiveness of the schools would increase 50% over night.

• Many teacher associations must determine in the near future whether their course of action shall be that of a professional organization or a labor union.

• What should be expected of our schools? What should they do? Are they to be educational institutions or one of the facets of a welfare state?

• It is very questionable whether many pupils are learning to face failure and frustrations, to assume responsibility, to work, to know discipline.

• Every school should have some good traditional teachers—the kind that insist that the t's be crossed and the i's dotted. Details can be important.

• Stock recipes for improving education today are: More Citizens' Committees; More Money; More Specialists, but never more work.

• The chief way today to raise the standards of work of many pupils is by work, and it wouldn't add a dollar to the school budget.

• If schools keep on adding specialists for every need that arises, the only things left finally to the classroom teacher will be to call the roll and then cry for help.

• In this day of fault-finding, criticism, and distrust, there isn't time to be hunting scapegoats or proving Johnny reads better than Grandpa did; this task of education needs to be done better than ever before. That's the issue. Let's be at it.

• If the School Administrator does not or cannot exercise the role of leadership in a school system, then he has no reason for continuance. Once that role is usurped by pressure groups with an ax to grind or one special cause to promote, by School Board members who have attended a few conventions or who have political aspirations, or by Teachers' Associations who look on the schools as their own, the interests and needs of the pupils will be endangered and the unique function of Public Education perverted.

• The recognition and rewarding of outstanding teachers is coming. It is sensible and logical. However, basic to such a plan and coming first is the exercise of merit in the make-up of School Boards and School Administration.

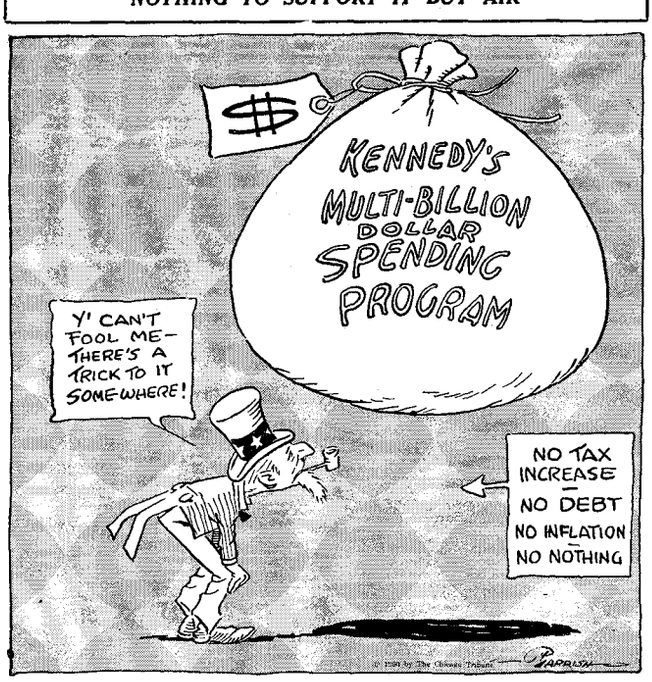
• For the intangibles of life, the pupil's best school and teacher is or should be the home and the parent. A good home and a poor school can be of more worth to a pupil than a poor home and a good school.

• Efforts to weaken or dilute Public Education are direct threats to our form of government and national unity. Strangely enough, some of these "stalwarts" claim to be friends of Public Education.

• If the school doesn't teach the 3 R's, who will?

• A principal reason for the growth and development of Public Education in the United States is the fact that the school, in spite of its State function, is peculiarly local and close to the people. This nearness to the people and the freedom of the people to experiment, and to make changes locally, encourages individuals in the school system to do creative thinking and planning.

NOTHING TO SUPPORT IT BUT AIR



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Vol. XVII, No. 47 — Section V HUMAN EVENTS November 24, 1960

What Business Must Learn About Politics

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By JOSEPH J. ELEY

The author, who is with Public Affairs Counsellors, Inc., New York, has directed practical politics seminars on such university campuses as Princeton, Stanford, Michigan State, and Southern California.

IN THE LIGHT of November 9th and the election of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, a considerable number of people will ask, "What happened to this 'business in politics' movement? Why didn't the numbers of 'businessmen' activated to political service in the past several years have a greater effect for the Republican party?"

These questions reflect this constant attitude toward the efforts of business to motivate personnel to political activities: that (a) the movement was focused on the 1960 election, and that (b) by its very nature, it must be of benefit to the GOP.

The writer takes issue with both points and has done so from the start.

Having been deeply enmeshed in the "business in politics" campaign, one cannot resist pointing out the real objective. While the Presidential election could not help but be of major importance, the idea of motivating salaried employees to political activity is more important than one election; more important than party consideration; more important than business *per se.* It deals, in the language of a policy statement of one company, with a way of life and long range considerations. Any other approach would be unrealistic.

This idea has to do with the survival of a virile, expressive middle class which is based to a large extent in the salaried ranks of business and industry. At least part of business leadership has come to recognize that where productive middle class people are the dominant political force, a strong free economy and a vital, expanding business community results. Nor does this perspective work against the laboring man, the farmer, or the professional man, for they, too, are part of the middle class. The key word in all cases is "productive."

To go fully into the ramifications of "business in politics" would require more space than is available. In sum, the movement is inaptly termed "business in politics"; it should be referred to as "people in politics." The role of the corporation is simply that of a catalyst in every case of which the writer has knowledge.

Having made this point to illustrate the focus of the movement, one more is required. Companies began to take a real interest in this idea following the 1958 congressional elections. Thus, despite a mere two years of work, some expected the courses in politics and resultant activities to have major impact.

This is the height of political naivete. Consider that organized labor has been working at teaching politics and in building a disciplined organized bloc for 25 years. Recall that the CIO's Political Action Committee, of the pre-merger period, began operating in 1944. The AFL's Labor's League for Political Education followed in 1947.

This point is made simply to indicate that it takes time for people to reach a high degree of political effectiveness; not to imply a business vs. labor political struggle.

The middle class people who have moved into politics since 1958 simply have not had time to have any major impact. That impact, when and if it comes, will manifest itself in both parties and in primary elections and the nominating process.

What happened on November 8, 1960, is subject to a variety of interpretations. Having taught and practiced practical politics for some time, the writer tends to analyze by three points of reference. Politics is composed of these general components: organizations, candidates and issues. This order indicates their relative importance in most elections. Now and then, a candidate will appear, *a la* Eisenhower, to override organization. Sometimes an issue will emerge to dominate, but in eight out of ten elections, local to national, organization will prove the decisive factor. Obviously in every election all three factors are important; it is the degree of importance with which we are concerned.

This year saw the return of organization as the primary factor in a Presidential election. Without

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Eisenhower, the GOP was not able to cope with the Democratic party. Evidence to this effect occurred in the major states. The Daley organization in Chicago dominated Illinois; the Green machine of Philadelphia ran up an insurmountable plurality for Senator Kennedy. Tammany produced for the Democrats in New York. In California the organization built by Paul Ziffren and taken over by Governor "Pat" Brown was a major factor. Governor Ribicoff's well-built model in Connecticut prevailed, as did that of Governor Meyner in New Jersey.

What is equally significant is that in these states the deterioration of the Republican party has been apparent in previous elections.

To compare party organization nationwide, the measurement must be taken at the realistic level of the state legislatures. A sharp picture emerges. Prior to the 1960 returns, the Republicans controlled both houses of state legislatures in seven states; the Democrats enjoyed dual control in 29. The GOP controlled nine lower houses; the Democrats had 39. In state senates, normally the more conservative bodies, the Republican party dominated in 18 states; the Democratic party in 31.

(*Disparities in the above figures are explained thus. Nebraska has a unicameral, non-partisan legislature; Michigan had an evenly divided house at the time the figures were compiled.*)

Organizationally, then, Senator Kennedy enjoyed a considerable advantage.

To this organizational advantage must be added labor's strength. It has been fairly clear in the past that union members will follow labor leadership at state levels; i.e., senatorial, congressional, gubernatorial and legislative elections. Because of the Eisenhower phenomenon of 1952 and 1956, it was not clear whether this discipline would extend to the Presidency. Apparently in 1960 organized labor did support Senator Kennedy.

To each of the above, there are exceptions. The notable example is Ohio, where the organization which elected Governor DiSalle in 1958 and the labor vote which also contributed to his pluralities, failed to give Senator Kennedy the strength expected. The exceptions are rare.

In terms of the second component, candidates, the "image" of Senator Kennedy undoubtedly came through better than that of Mr. Nixon. One has the feeling that the Vice President never recovered from the first of the series of TV debates. Neither candidate took on an image comparable to that of Dwight Eisenhower. Enthusiasm, however, was balanced more toward Senator Kennedy than toward Mr. Nixon.

Issues-wise, the campaign left much to be desired. Mr. Kennedy was for fiscal saneness, for sound money, yet at the same time he reflected his Keynesian-pump-priming-London School of Economics philosophy.

This is not meant as criticism of the President-elect but simply to illustrate the lack of clear-cut issues. There is a deep conviction that issues had much less effect than the candidate's "images" and were of minor importance compared with organization.

THIS ANALYSIS is offered only to re-emphasize the importance of organization in politics. The "business in politics" program keyed to the 1960 election was doomed from the beginning. No doubt, a Nixon victory would have triggered claims of the impact of this movement. These claims would have been as false as charges of failure are false. If business were to lose its enthusiasm for this movement as a result of the 1960 returns, it would again prove the political ineptness of business leadership.

What is needed is not less of the catalytic action of business urging political activity. Rather, more such activities are needed—activities aiming to nominate and elect sound local officials who will accept the responsibilities that have too often passed to Federal government by default. Accelerated activities of this nature will result in better legislatures and state administrations. They will improve the climate to maintain a free society from which stems a capitalist economy.

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Human Events THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 47 November 24, 1960 Section I — News

GOP: *Building from position of strength* ....(577)

ELECTORAL: *Can reform be expected?* ....(578)

HOUSE: *Rules Committee—big struggle?* ....(578)

DEMOS: *N. Y. feud offers GOP opportunity* (579)

WORLD COURT: *Jessup appointment scored* (579)

Rebirth of the GOP: Outstanding revelation of the election was the strength of the Republican party which—when all the votes are finally in—may prove to be the majority party. This discredits the brain-washing line of the liberal-dominated press which for years has pictured the GOP as a permanently "minority party."

As this new image sinks in, Capitol Hill envisages the possibility that the Republicans may capture Congress in 1962, and go on to victory in 1964. Under what leader? That's a big topic of discussion today in Washington.

Capitol Hill greets with reserve attempts to boom Vice President Nixon as "the indispensable man in '64." Typical of much GOP sentiment today are the observations of powerful Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire. He was re-elected by the biggest vote ever cast in his state, carrying to victory on his coattails Governor Wesley Powell and Richard Nixon in that order.

Bridges, interviewed by HUMAN EVENTS, remarked: "There's no predestined man for the party in 1964. I certainly applaud the Vice President who waged a gallant campaign. Some say he'll be our man four years hence. That may be. But that depends on a lot of things. If he goes back to California, reverts to the 'old Nixon' and captures the governorship, he could be in line to receive the party crown.

"But we Republicans have to leave our minds open. Many things can happen in the national and international picture. Some future developments may suddenly put the spotlight on a Republican figure who presently is not considered. Wait and see.

"But I do emphasize this. In view of the splendid gains this election in the House and the Senate, I am firmly of the opinion that the Republican members of Congress will find and nominate the man we need as standard bearer in 1964."

Meanwhile, the push within the party perhaps inexorably propels Senator Goldwater forward. He has indicated his dissatisfaction with the Nixon strategy in the unsuccessful campaign. He says he wants to "figure in '64, but not necessarily for the Presidency"—displaying a modesty native to him, and for that reason attractive to the rank and file of the party. This stands in welcome contrast to the bumptious ambition of Rockefeller whose stock in the GOP has touched a new low. There's little doubt that many of the party people look to Goldwater for powerful leadership in the upcoming session of Congress.

Cook County: Senator Kennedy's mouse-size mandate will shrink even more, and further developments could throw the Presidential election into the House, if Illinois Republicans can prove what would truly be a breach of civil-rights—the junking of Nixon ballots by the Cook County (Chicago) Democratic machine and the allowance of fraudulent Kennedy votes.

Kennedy's Illinois margin stands at some 9,000 votes, but the GOP claims the Democrats stole 100,000 votes in order to win the state. One highly responsible Chicago newsman puts the figure at closer to 150,000. Defeated Republican State's Attorney Benjamin S. Adamowski (a public servant who is tough on Mafia hoodlums) thinks his own election was stolen and will file a circuit court suit for a recount. The hastily formed Nixon Recount Committee is raising the money to force a recount of the Presidential vote. This is costly as teams of ballot counters must be recruited and paid.

Cook County Republican Chairman Francis X. Connell said of the situation last week: "There is no question that they [the Democrats] stole the election. The work was done mainly by the professional vote thieves. Those we'll never catch. But we believe that through a recount it will be possible to catch the careless and the over-ambitious ballot thieves who stuffed the ballot boxes and reported 'loaded' vote tallies last Tuesday."

Noted is that the Nixon Recount Committee is beseeching Illinois Republicans to contribute a dollar each to pay expenses, leading one Windy City reporter to crack: "It looks as though the Republicans in this state will have to pay a dollar poll tax this year, not to vote but just to make sure that their vote is counted."

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Noted also by Illinois Republicans, with some wonder, is that apparently Attorney General Rogers of the Republican Administration in Washington has not yet seen fit to move into this scandal. Rogers has shown great interest in infringements of civil rights in other parts of the country.

Watch Dixie: Capture of California, plus the prospect of a recount in Illinois which might give that state's electors to the VP, has caused no little interest in the deep South. Subtracting California (32) and Illinois (27) from Kennedy's originally claimed total has raised the question whether unpledged electors in the South might throw the election into the House of Representatives.

The narrowing electoral totals, it is rumored, may cause some electors in the deep South states to follow the example of Mississippi's 8 and Alabama's 6 unpledged electors. Whether this developing situation may spark a widening anti-Kennedy reaction among Southern electors (hitherto on the Kennedy side) remains to be seen. But Washington politicos, pondering the possibility that the final election result might be decided by the House of Representatives, are watching this picture much more closely than is generally realized.

Electoral College: The razor-thin closeness of the election has created what may be one of the major issues in the next Congress—Electoral College reform. Suddenly, all sorts of public figures have rubbed their eyes and "discovered" (what publications like HUMAN EVENTS have long discussed) the unfairness of the "all or nothing" system by which one of the two major parties grabs *all* 45 electoral votes of New York if it gets just *one* ballot more than the other. Under this system, a handful of big-city, big population states determines the winner.

Under this system, the whole country and the whole machinery of the two parties in the end must bid for the favor of small minority "swing blocs" in the big states; and all the other sections of the nation suffer.

Out of a welter of variegated suggestions, watch for emergence of two principal plans to remedy the Electoral College problem: (1) The Lodge-Gossett amendment; and (2) the Mundt-Coudert amendment—proposals over which battles have been fought on Capitol Hill and both of which have failed of passage by Congress. With the country now aroused, one of these may be passed by the new Congress.

It now appears that Kennedy's electoral vote lead would have been cut from a majority of 147 to a majority of only 3, if the Lodge-Gossett Amendment were in force. That Amendment (which previously passed one house of Congress, and has not been revived recently) provided that the electoral vote in each state would be divided in exact ratio to the popular vote.

Under Lodge-Gossett, as figured by HUMAN EVENTS staff on incomplete returns, Kennedy would have received 268.57 electoral votes; Nixon, 265.86 electoral votes; and Kennedy's lead would have been 3.28 electoral votes instead of 147.

Because of slowness of returns and complexity of the way the returns are presented, what the Mundt-Coudert dispensation would have done to that 147 electoral vote lead cannot be determined until additional figures are available and further analysis has been accomplished. Under the Mundt-Coudert system, each congressional district would elect one elector of its own and vote for two at-large for the state. Most conservatives consider this plan the soundest reform yet advocated. It fell short of the necessary two-thirds approval in the Senate in 1956. A tentative sketch of how Mundt-Coudert would have worked in this month's election may be available in the near future.

However that may be, what is rarely mentioned in the press comment today is that either plan—if one had been put into operation a year ago—would have radically altered the way both the nomination and election of Presidential candidates worked out this year. In the nominating conventions, candidates would not have had to rely on the big delegations from the big states; and smaller states and regional influences would have prevailed. More conservative candidates would likely have been nominated. In short, a convention would not have been treated (as the GOP was in 1952) to the unseemly spectacle of Governor Dewey of New York (controlling that state's entire delegation) figuratively wielding a black snake whip over the whole convention. New York, Pennsylvania, California would have been fragmented and smaller units or blocs (especially in rural areas) would have been important in naming the candidate. Similarly in the ensuing election, the whole party policy and campaign bid for votes would not have been distorted by the necessity for appealing to some powerful voting bloc, in say, the City of New York.

House Revolt? If the Kennedy entourage inspired last week's news stories about a purge in the powerful House Rules Committee, they may have overreached themselves. This purge policy, of course, is standard form with the radical liberal-labor element in the party. But the results of congressional elections leave that element in the House less powerful and the conservative faction more powerful than they were in the last session.

The Republicans picked up a net gain of about 23 seats in the lower house and, in the process, bumped off quite a number of left-wing legislators. All the new GOP members are right-of-center. Conversely, the conservative Democrats from the South will find themselves in a stronger position than they have held in the outgoing 86th Congress. A number of Northern Democratic liberals who hold chairmanships in the House would rather not risk their positions by stirring up a hornets' nest.

An attempt to purge Mississippi's Representative Colmer, conservative Democratic member of the Rules Committee, might precipitate an all-out fight among Democrats with imponderable consequences.

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If it gets hot enough, Southern Democrats might become sufficiently angry so that they would consider upsetting the regular leadership of Speaker Sam Rayburn, and of organizing the House jointly with the Republicans. It is recalled that Representative Whitten (D.-Miss.) actually broached such a coalition in a speech in the House last summer. At present, the details of any such deal are very speculative, but the rearrangement might take this form: a new speaker, a Democrat of the conservative mold; division of chairmanships between Democrats and Republicans; the new speaker might eliminate from chairmanships such left-wingers as Emanuel Cellar (Judiciary) and Adam Clayton Powell (Education and Labor) and give their posts to Republicans. To enforce such an organization, it is agreed, there are a sufficient number of votes: about 170 of the 179 Republican representatives-elect would go along; and about 50 Southern Democrats. Such a structure would prove a formidable roadblock to Kennedy's New Frontier program, and, indeed, to the future of his Administration.

Rocky: The shining knight of "modern" Republicanism, Nelson Rockefeller, was walking around in rusty political armor last week as pundits and the public alike assessed the scope of his election day losses.

Although the GOP picked up 23 House seats nationwide, there was a loss of three in Rocky's state. Rockefeller's strongest congressional backer and cheerleader, Stuyvesant Wainwright, was knocked off in Suffolk County, Long Island, by a little known Democrat. Consequently, liberal columnist William S. White said last week that Rocky "is the man who could not or would not deliver for his own party when the bitter chips were most bitterly down. It is thus just short of inconceivable that he could have any wide influence at the 1964 Republican National Convention."

HUMAN EVENTS has come up with another candid testimony of Rocky's New York "sham-paign" in behalf of Nixon-Lodge. A GOP public relations man was sent to New York and assigned to Nelson Rockefeller's party during the Governor's speaking tour for Nixon throughout the state. Here's what the PR man reported about Rocky: "This guy is murder. He's killing us. He spends most of the time blowing his own horn."

Conservative Principles Win: While liberal columnists are still peddling the cliche that conservatives can't win, the campaign should have put an R. I. P. sign over this worn out liberal myth. The success of conservatives Barry Goldwater and B. Carroll Reece in swinging their respective states of Arizona and Tennessee to Nixon contrasts sharply with liberal Nelson Rockefeller's failure to put Nixon across in New York. Even more significant is that of the 23 Republican seats picked up in the House from the Democrats, the great majority of the newcomers will lean toward starboard.

But perhaps the most outstanding example of how a congressional candidate, sticking closely to conservative principles, can win was demonstrated by young (35) Peter Garland in the first district of Maine. Instead of fencing, Garland flatly opposed "welfare" measures.

He also opposed Federal aid to education, although it was supported by both parties in their platforms and by the powerful Maine Teachers' Association, closely allied with the National Education Association lobby in Washington.

Garland's approach proved remarkably successful. Not only did he beat incumbent Democrat James C. Oliver by 12,000 votes, but he did it in a district which only two years ago had given Oliver a 4,000 vote majority.

Democrats: Although little mention has been made of it in the nation's press, New York's Democrats are again battling, following a campaign truce designed to win the election.

No sooner were the returns in than the Eleanor Roosevelt-Herbert Lehman "reform" group, an assortment of leftists and leftovers from such factions as the old American Labor party, renewed their attempt to take over the reins from the non-radical "regulars," headed by Tammany Chief Carmine DeSapio and State Chairman Michael Prendergast. The main charge leveled against DeSapio is "bossism," but Empire State observers know that what the Adlaimaniacs want is iron-fisted control of the party's patronage and choice of candidates in New York.

Their chances of success are slim. DeSapio held on after the Democrats lost the governorship in 1958, *and Kennedy owes him much for delivering the New York delegation at the convention. Eleanor's crowd went to Los Angeles for Stevenson.*

But regardless of the outcome of the Democratic squabble—and it promises to provide much political bloodletting—it presents the GOP with an excellent opportunity. A well-formed fusion ticket could possibly topple New York City's Mayor Wagner—a political sissy who stands between the warring groups—from city hall next year. Should this happen and should the GOP pep up its lagging state organization, chances for congressional gains in 1962 and Presidential victory in 1964 will be bright.

Jessup and the World Court: Conservative politicos in the Nation's Capital are alarmed at the selection of Philip C. Jessup to sit on the 15-member International Court of Justice (World Court), the judicial arm of the United Nations. Jessup, now a professor of international law at Columbia University, was part and parcel of the Truman-Acheson appeasement policy in the Far East and today is a bosom pal of the internationalist clique bent on gutting American sovereignty.

E. Y. BERRY, Republican member of Congress from South Dakota: "HUMAN EVENTS is doing a job that must be done in this country. In my book, it is the 'Voice of America.'"

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Jessup was nominated to the post by a panel of four American lawyers at the Hague which was headed by Bethuel M. Webster who has distinguished himself by opposing both the Bricker Amendment and Connally Reservation. In choosing Jessup, the panel passed over incumbent Judge Green H. Hackworth, who, in effect, was thrown out of a job although he has been sitting on the Court since it was established in 1946 and although 11 other countries recommended him for re-election.

But whatever the reasons for Jessup's selection, his qualifications as an international expert are noticeably slim. Jessup, it is recalled, was a leading light in the Institute of Pacific Relations when that group thought the Chinese Communists were nothing more than "agrarian" reformers. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, after making an exhaustive 14-volume study of the IPR, tagged it as a transmission belt for Chinese Communist propaganda.

Jessup's qualifications as an expert on anything to do with international affairs came into such doubt in 1951 that a Democratic-controlled Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee—in the process of confirming 10 Americans on delegations to the United Nations—confirmed every name but that of Jessup.

Revolution in the House: Behind the news that the Republicans picked up 23 House seats from the Democrats is the fact that some of the lower house's most extreme radicals were wiped out. Their successors, for the most part, are down-the-line, Old Guard Republicans. They will strengthen the Northern Republican-Southern Democrat coalition that must resist the Kennedy blitz next session. Some of the new faces that Washington will see next January:

John Ashbrook: Former head of the National Young Republicans, Ashbrook swamped incumbent Democrat Robert Levering in Ohio's 17th Congressional District. Ashbrook ran on a solidly conservative platform, criticized opponent Levering for his subservience to Walter Reuther. Levering had racked up a 100% COPE voting record in Congress.

Don Bruce: Tackling liberal incumbent Joe Barr in Indiana's 11th District, which comprises industrial Indianapolis, Bruce ran as a "Goldwater Republican." He rapped Barr for betraying conservative Hoosier ideals, and walked away with the race.

Peter H. Dominick: This Colorado Republican challenged Democratic Congressman Byron Johnson on issues and won. Johnson's vote on every key issue last session met with COPE's approval. Dominick seized on this fact, and ousted Johnson.

Charles "Mac" Mathias: Maryland voters turned out of office left-wing Congressman John Foley, and replaced him with Mathias. Foley had scored 100% on the COPE scoreboard, and Mathias blasted him for being one of "the 25 biggest spenders" in the entire Congress. Mathias, like many congressional candidates, ran ahead of the national ticket.

Robert Stafford: Perhaps the most radical member of the House of Representatives, William Meyer of Vermont went down to defeat at the hands of Governor Robert Stafford. Meyer, with no wrong votes on the COPE charts, is also a militant pacifist.

William Scranton: A 100% COPE captive, Stanley Prokop was defeated by William Scranton, despite heavy labor backing from the national labor groups.

Henry C. Schadeberg: Wisconsin's left-wing Representative Gerald Flynn, who early in his House term named an international representative of the United Auto Workers as his administrative assistant, was defeated by Schadeberg. The new Congressman is reported to be a solid conservative, a far cry from Flynn, who never once crossed COPE.

Donald Clancy: Democratic candidate H. A. Sand received solid labor support in his bid to defeat Clancy, but to no avail. Ohio's second district voters elected the conservative Clancy.

John Rousselot: Running in Richard Nixon's old district, Rousselot turned out of office left-wing freshman Democrat George Kasem. Like 149 other Democratic Congressmen, Kasem was a 100% COPE Representative. Rousselot is reported to be a firm conservative, and will bolster the California delegation.

Edwin Durno: One of the election's biggest upsets occurred in Oregon's Fourth Congressional District with the triumph of Republican Durno over Congressman Charles Porter, sometimes referred to as Castro's greatest US booster. Porter cast 22 key votes in his short congressional career, none of which was considered by COPE to be wrong.

Ben Reifel: Succeeding left-wing Congressman George McGovern of South Dakota (he tried for the Senate against Karl Mundt and lost) is Ben Reifel, a South Dakota conservative in the Mundt tradition.

Ward Bond: Washington conservatives express much regret at the recent death of actor Ward Bond. Along with his lifelong friend John Wayne, Bond was a booster of HUMAN EVENTS and one of the staunchest anti-Communists in Hollywood. He worked hard for Bob Taft's Presidential nomination in 1952 and always backed his patriotic ideals with action.

The AP obit on Bond read: "Mr. Bond was bitterly anti-Communist and became embroiled in many of the industry disputes over Communism in the movies and in the fight over McCarthyism (Wayne recently defended Joe McCarthy in London before a battery of English journalists). When Premier Khrushchev visited Hollywood in 1959 *during his United States tour the actor flew the American flag over his home at half staff."*

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